1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AWSO Badaga AWSO

Aunvallur (possessors of cattle).—A fanciful name for Idaiyans. 000

Avaru.—A synonym of Agaru.

Aviri (*Indigofera tinctoria*).—An exogamous sept of Padma Sālēs, who use indigo in the manufacture of coloured cloth fabrics.

Avisa (*Sesbania grandiflora*).—A gōtra of Mēdara.

Āvu (snake).—An exogamous sept of Kuruba.

Āvula (cow).—An exogamous sept of Balija, Bōya, Golla, Kāpu, Korava, Mutrācha, and Yerukala.

Āyar (cow-herd).—A synonym or sub-division of Idaiyan and Kōlayān.

Ayōdhya (Oudh).—A sub-division of Kāpus, who say that they originally lived in Oudh.

Āzhāti.—Recorded, in the Travancore Census Report, 1901, as a synonym of Pishārati.

Badaga.—As the Todas are the pastoral, and the Kotas the artisan tribe of the Nīlgiris, so the agricultural element on these hills is represented by the Badagas (or, as they are sometimes called, Burghers). Their number was returned, at the census, 1901, as 34,178 against 1,267 Kotas, and 807 Todas. Though the primary occupation of the Badagas is agriculture, there are among their community, schoolmasters, clerks, public works contractors, bricklayers, painters, carpenters, sawyers, tailors, gardeners, forest guards, barbers, washermen, and scavengers. Many work on tea and coffee estates, and gangs of Badagas can always be seen breaking stones on, and repairing the hill roads. Others are, at the present day, earning good wages in the Cordite Factory near Wellington. Some of the more prosperous 101 161 463

1; Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

782 at the temple, the head and carcase being placed in front
(784) of the image. The witness steps over the carçase, and this forms the oath. If the evidence is false, it is believed that some evil will happen to him."

•101 The name Badaga or Vadugan means northerner, and
M4 the Badagas are believed to be descended from Canarese colonists from the Mysore country, who migrated to the Nīlgiris three centuries ago owing to famine, political
141 turmoil, or local oppression in their own country. It is
144 worthy of notice, in this connection, that the head of the Badagas, like that of the Todas and Kotas, is dolicho-cephalic, and not of the mesaticephalic or sub-brachy-cephalic type, which prevails throughout Mysore, as in other Canarese areas.

	Average.		
	Cephalic length. cm.	Cephalic breadth. cm.	Cephalic index.
Badaga ...	18·9	13·6	71·7
Toda ...	19·4	14·2	73·3
Kota ...	19·2	14·2	74·1

Of the Mysorean heads, the following are a few typical examples :—

	Average.		
	Cephalic length. cm.	Cephalic breadth. cm.	Cephalic index.
Ganiga ...	18·5	14·3	77·6
Bēdar ...	18·3	14·3	77·7
Holeya ...	17·9	14·1	79·1
Mandya Brahman	18·5	14·8	80·2
Vakkaliga ...	17·7	14·5	81·7

539 Concerning the origin of the Badagas, the following legend is current. Seven brothers and their sisters were living on the Talamalai hills. A Muhammadan

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

Acknowledgements

114 A work of this size calls forth the assistance of numerous friends and colleagues. First and foremost I have to thank over 700 ●101 Badagas who have been interviewed. M. N. Thesingh, an Adikiri, and K. Lakshmanan, B.A., a Gauda, have been my constant guides and companions during the four years (1962–1963, 1969–1970, 1972, 1976–1977) that I have spent with the Badagas. It is a pleasure to record my gratitude to them for their valuable assistance.

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122 This research has been supported by several different agencies, among them the American Institute of Indian Studies, the Social Science Research Council, the Ford Foundation, the University of

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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175 division between nature and society was expressed in a variety of ways. Clearest perhaps was the ethical prescription that while it is evil for a Badaga to kill people he does good in the eyes of the community *and of God* if he kills Kurumbas or tigers, 'since these (181) are both murderers' (as the matter was once explained to me). The Badagas have always been what would popularly be termed a most superstitious people: they suspect the sorcerer's artifice behind every noise in the jungle, every unexplained malady, every strange event; and they glean a multitude of tidings, both good and bad, from the everyday behaviour of snakes, crows, jackals, cattle and dozens of other creatures and conditions that surround (681) them. A further indication of the gulf between nature and society is perhaps that in their pre-British law the severest Badaga punish- (684) ment short of hanging was ostracism—expulsion from the village; and this was reserved for the enormity of incest.[2]

121 For an Indian peasant society the Badagas have some quite extraordinary features, fit to provide enough exotica for any undergraduate anthropology course. This fact has not been duly appreciated by the dozens of ethnologists who have come to the Nilgiris and attached themselves with passion to the colourful Todas or the shy jungle tribes. The Badagas may outwardly appear a much more 'typical' Indian farming community, and yet they do not have true subcastes or multicaste villages; they practise hypergamy *and* hypogamy even across the vegetarian boundary; several forms of polygamy are acceptable; they have a sort of young men's house; marriage is permitted across generation levels to the point where a man may in theory marry a woman *and* her daughter *and* her mother simultaneously, and villages hold a memorial ceremony once in fifty years when every member of a generation has died. Add to these features the frequent ghost exorcisms, fire-walking and occasional massacres, and the anthropologist has much to explain.

THE TERRAIN

● 101 The Nilgiri Hills, also known as the Blue Mountains, constitute a massif some 1500 sq. km. in area, situated in southern India at the [133] juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnataka (631) Malabar and Tamilnad. In the British period it was an administrative unit of the Madras Presidency. Today the Nilgiris form one

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

small district of Tamil Nadu, altogether covering 2543 sq. km. This is the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays numerous other peoples also live there.

The plateau is generally in the elevation of 2000–2500 m., and one peak, Doddabetta, among the highest in peninsular India, reaches 2633 m. In contrast to this the western quarter of the district averages around 1000 m. in elevation and forms a major portion of the Wainad Plateau. The main indigenous communities there are the Panias, Kurumbas, Nayakas and Chettis, but there are also a few Badagas (Wainad Gaudas) and Kotas.

The escarpment of the Nilgiri Plateau falls away very steeply, and on the eastern edge actually drops some 2000 m. in about 3 km. These slopes always have been covered in dense subtropical jungle which harbours tigers, leopards, buffaloes, elephants, snakes and malarial mosquitoes, and formerly dangerous hunting tribes still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the British early in the nineteenth century the three communities living on the summit of these hills—Badagas, Kotas and Todas—were therefore extremely isolated.

The undulating, unevenly wooded downland making up the entire plateau experiences considerable variation in rainfall. The Nilgiris receive from 60 to 160 inches of rain annually, depending on the topographical aspect. Western parts of the plateau rely mainly on the southwest monsoon in July and August; the eastern parts derive much of their rain from the northeastern monsoon in October-December. The average mean daily temperature in the centre of the plateau is around 15°C, while in the Wainad the climate is much hotter and wetter.

For the mildly invigorating qualities of its climate the plateau is therefore scarcely rivalled anywhere in the Asian tropics, and from 1819 British residents began to take advantage of this healthful region. Soon the towns of Coonoor, Kotagiri and Ootacamund (the district headquarters), and the military station at Wellington, took shape and expanded. More recently the town of Gudalur (Gudalu:ru) has grown up in the Wainad, at the foot of the western escarpment. Ootacamund, Coonoor and Gudalur are now the headquarters of the three administrative divisions or *taluks* into which the district was divided by the British.

THE NILGIRI POPULATION

When the British began to settle on the plateau they brought with

2: Hockings B-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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The Migration from Mysore

There is no doubt that before they settled in the Nilgiris the homeland of the Badagas lay in the Mysore Plain. Their own legends as well as those of the Kotas are quite explicit on this point, and some of the clans are even able to identify places in Mysore whence their ancestors came. (The most northerly village they now inhabit is still within Karnataka State.)

One need look no further than their language for confirmation of the legend. There are six discernible dialects of Baḍagu that we identify as Standard, Wodea, Kumba:ra-Be:da, Kundena:ḍu, Wainad and Ha:sanu:ru. The dialects are differentiated as much by vocabulary as by phonology and are demonstrably variant forms of Kannada speech. No linguist has ever claimed anything other than this for Baḍagu, since it and the Kannada of Mysore are, with some effort, mutually intelligible.

The very name *Baḍaga* is usually cited as prime evidence of their origin to the north of the Nilgiris:[1] the Kannada word *baḍaga* means 'northerner'. It also has the meaning 'servant'. If we postulate that the name derives from Kannada *baḍaka* instead, then we have the additional meanings 'lean, thin, feeble man' or 'a man who beats and bangs' (Kittel, 1894, 1068-1073). There are thus four possible etymologies for the name. The last two meanings verge on the scurrilous, however, and would hardly have been used by the immigrants in self-identification. One would expect such epithets to be applied to immigrants only by some other group, perhaps the Todas had they known Kannada; yet Todas now call

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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them *ma:v*. But were any of the Badagas ever servants?

There are two small phratries living on the northern edge of the plateau near Si:gu:ru. These are the Kumba:ras ('potters') and the Be:das ('hunters'), both of whom report they came initially to this locality while in the service of the chieftain of Ummattu:r (southern Mysore district). The title of 'servant' might have been applied to both these groups but that would not explain how the entire immigrant community came to be called *Badaga*. In this context it is particularly worth noting that most of the immigrants arrived before the Be:das and Kumba:ras, who reached the hills in the seventeenth century; yet in 1603 Finicio was already calling the whole community Badega.[2]

We are thus left with the presumption that Badagas are so called because of their northern origin.[3] The case of the Be:das and Kumba:ras, phratries with the same material culture and social organization as other Badagas and a demonstrable tie with Karnataka, merely bears out the connexion with that state.

The fact that a sizeable minority (over 10,000) of the community is Lingayat further underlines the tie with Mysore, for this religious sect finds nearly all of its followers within Karnataka State, virtually none being in Tamil Nadu apart from these in the Nilgiri region. Some Lingayat Badagas are even able to relate how their ancestors left two now-deserted villages in Mysore and that they were then already converts to Lingayatism (or Virashaivism).

DATING THE MIGRATION

Legends are always inaccurate over dates, if only because they pass from generation to generation without modification of reference to times past. There are, however, various other kinds of evidence which also shed some light on the dating of the migration.

Published Estimates

Several writers well versed in Badaga culture have hazarded guesses as to the dating, based in part on legends they heard. Serious attention should be paid, I feel, to the earlier publications:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

000 an undulating grassland interspersed with temperate woodland in the dales. The elevation of their hamlets ranges from 2,400 to 2,000 •101 meters. The Badagas now occupy the eastern half of the Nilgiri 361 Plateau, which is heavily cultivated by them as well as by more recent settlers, and the settled parts of which range in elevation 000 from 2,200 (Mainele hamlet) to 1,200 meters (Hiriyasi:ge). The Kurumbas and Irulas are to be found only on the jungle-covered escarpments and lower slopes of the Nilgiris, at elevations varying 361 from 1,500 down to 450 meters. The highest Badaga hamlet with a 'Kurumba' toponym occurs however at 1,800 meters and points to the displacement of Kurumba villagers towards lower and less healthy levels. On the other hand we find that the lowest Badaga hamlet with a 'Toda' toponym (Pudumandu) occurs at an elevation of 1,700; indeed five such Badaga hamlets lie lower than any present-day Toda hamlet. This indicates a displacement of the Todas into higher elevations (by what means we cannot tell, unless it be that the Badaga immigrants introduced diseases for which the Todas had no immunity) and shows that Badaga settlement somehow resulted in the creation of a zone between 1,500 and 2,000 meters which was exclusively their own and which merged at its upper limits with the areas of Toda settlement and at its lower limits with the highest of Kurumba settlements. What was it that the Badagas found attractive about this zone in the Nilgiris?

103 We can find additional evidence for the kind of ecological niche in which they located themselves from the village names. A revealing break-down of those Badaga toponyms referring to vegetation is summarized here:

Number of villages with, as referrents:

forest	12
swamp	5
grass	13
bracken	2
tree	33
shrub	19
other plant species	17

Some further information about the floral chracteristics of the Badaga zone can be gleaned from a different type of break-down, one that takes into account those toponyms which refer to a particular biome or a plant species with known and somewhat restricted ecological distribution:

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
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8

Administration and Law

CUSTOMARY LAW

627 Until the end of the last century the Indian Penal Code and the British system of local administration had little relevance to Badagas. They had their own uncodified law and their own headmen and councils to administer it.

101 Three periods are distinguishable in their legal history: one prior to the advent of the British when something akin to *lex talionis* was operative; a second period when Badagas still had full control of their legal procedure but operated it under the aegis of the British; and a third period, from about 1900 to the present, when litigants played off the Badaga system against the magistrate's court in an attempt to win cases through obscuration.

174 There are no records for the phase of *lex talionis*, but a rough account of the procedure is provided by legend. A village council sat in judgment and stipulated a time and place for punishment of the guilty. The man who had assaulted someone was to be kicked or beaten by him, the rapist had to offer his wife to the aggrieved husband, and the murderer was hanged by the family of his victim.

175 By the start of the nineteenth century this pattern had given way to one that is with some modification still in effect today. It originated before coinage was circulating in the Nilgiris, for the earliest fines, as among the Todas, were paid in buffaloes and not rupees. Although there are no written records the procedure can be described in detail because of its recency.

3: Hockings, E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AW50 Badaga AW50

A ritual is not a network, but it is a medium of communication and provides an occasion for the personnel of all the networks of the village to converge in one place and act out their public roles. Ceremonial events are thus events of communication in two distinct senses. First, the confluence of people allows many local information networks to be reactivated; someone asks about getting a loan, another seeks opinions on a land dispute, a third takes a look at some potential brides. Second, the ritual itself conveys information to the participants. As we shall demonstrate, this message is a dramatization of the idea that the community is stable and its future assured.

The Todas, Kotas, and Badagas, three communities on the Nilgiri Plateau[1] in Southern India, are all cattle-keepers. For the Todas buffalo herding is the major occupation; for the Badagas it is subsidiary to agriculture; and for the Kotas it is subsidiary to both agriculture and a variety of traditional handicrafts. Each of these groups now keeps cattle only for their milk products, though until several decades ago the Badagas and Kotas also used oxen for drawing their ploughs.[2] Each group gives salt to its herds once or more a year and each culture has a complex ceremonial for feeding the salt to the cattle.

Confining ourselves to the Badagas,[3] we now ask a question that would in fact be equally pertinent to the case of the Todas or the Kotas: why is the giving of salt a day-long ceremony instead of merely a routine act of animal husbandry? Why are so many people and so much time involved in what a single boy could do in half an hour? The Badagas themselves would answer this question by invoking the "force of tradition"; but surely tradition is not *per se* an adequate explanation for the persistence of such a ceremony. The Badagas also maintain what is to them a perfectly rational explanation for the act of giving salt to their cattle. After heavy rains the young grass "tastes saltless," and the herds graze unenthusiastically; their owners make up this dietary deficiency by giving salt to the animals. The explanation suggests that these people understand something of the leaching process, but it certainly does not answer our original question: why has the act of salt-giving become a major annual ceremony?

Salt is regularly given to the cattle in March and at the end of December; in years when the grass is "saltless" a third dosage is given, generally in the month of June. On all three occasions the salt is given to the animals on a Monday, the weekly holiday of the Badagas, but it is only in March that the event is treated ceremonially.[4]

In the various writings abut the Badagas during the past 150 years there are only two brief references (Benbow 1928: 32-33; Karl 1945: 17), both fairly recent, to this salt-giving ceremony. Nevertheless it seems certain that the ceremony has a considerable antiquity; the comparable Toda ceremony was mentioned by Father Finicio in 1603 (Rivers 1906: 726). The Badagas did not become literate until the present century, yet they have an extensive and generally credible body of orally transmitted history relating to their way of life in the days shortly before the British settled in the Nilgiri Hills (i.e., prior to 1820). These Badaga accounts are explicit about

3: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1968
AWSO Badaga AWSO

But no great change has come in salt-giving and the other important rituals of either the Badagas or the Todas. Indeed, only one general change is apparent in recent performances of the traditional ceremonies: they are done with a minimum of wasted time. Now that Badagas and even some Todas have become involved in the marketing economy, they have less time to spend idly, since time now means income. They tend to perform ritual acts with some haste, and they do not always feel concerned if a minor item in the ritual sequence is altogether omitted from a particular performance. Public opinion still favors as authentic a performance as possible, however, for the relationship between the continued performance of the rituals and the continuance of the social order is even today believed to be a real and crucial one.

Wallace's contention that rituals do not have an information function has, we hope, been qualified by this paper. The kind of information which a ritual such as salt-giving presents is information not available from any other source, whether mass media or traditional oral channels. Neither government nor gossip can reassure a community on the matter of its continued existence as a community; only the periodic re-enactment of roles and the reassertion of traditional values in the indigenous ceremonies of a culture can give Badagas, Todas, and other rural communities the security of knowing that their own particular way of life is both persistent and worthwhile.

NOTES

1. I am indebted to the American Institute of Indian Studies for a fellowship which enabled me to do field research there in 1962-63. The present paper has been written with the help of a grant from the Chancellor's Committee on International and Comparative Studies, University of California at Los Angeles. I am also grateful to M. N. Thesingh, a Badaga Lingayat who provided much of the material, and to John Hitchcock for his helpful criticism.

2. Terracing of slopes and the fragmentation of fields through divided inheritance have resulted, since the 1930s, in fields being too small to plough.

3. Numbering 85,463 persons in the 1961 Census.

4. During the past fifty years some hamlets have included the salt-giving ceremony in their sowing festival. This is convenient because it saves some time and expense on preparations; yet the two ceremonies remain quite distinct from one another.

5. Large groups of Badagas and Kotas used to go together to the market town of Gundlupet in southern Mysore, or to Karamadai, near Coimbatore. They carried hay, honey, opium, and clarified butter with them, and bartered these for salt, crude sugar, rice, coconut, tobacco, and trinkets.

6. Initially trade in the Ootacamund bazaar was handled through barter, but by about 1840 cash had become the general medium.

7. Called *'uppu kuk'ke*, "salt basket," this is made of cane by the Todas, stands about nine inches high (including the loop handle), and is smeared inside and out with cow dung.

8. The term *'hubbe* is used for six species of Leguminosae found at varying altitudes on the Nilgiri Hills. These are (1) the hill forest indigo; (2) the New Spain senna; (3) the tick trefoil; (4) the bell pea or Chinese pagoda tree; (5) *Dumasia villosa;* and (6) mountain downy senna.

9. Otherwise known as bastard mango or honeysweet tree.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

128 curable illnesses is described (Chapters 5-8). Some emphasis is placed on reproduction and sexuality (Chapters 3 and 4), because reproductive success is the ultimate test of any society's adaptation to its environment. The role of the therapist and associated specialists, and their relations with their clients, is an extremely critical factor in the maintenance of a folk medical system. Equally important to the propagation of this knowledge is the recruitment of apprentices and the relationships they develop with a therapist (Chapter 10). Care of the living body and the advent of death receive some consideration (Chapters 2 and 9). Finally, this study may be of particular interest to pharmacologists because it identifies each of the substances used in every medicament described (Chapters 4-7).

182 Differential interaction between Badagas and their environment — an environment which does of course include disease organisms — has over some 20 generations led to a survival of the healthier individuals, a higher fertility, and in general a steady expansion of their occupancy of the Nilgiri Massif, beginning with the founding of Tu:ne:ri village in the sixteenth century on the arrival of a few dozen refugees, and culminating in the very large and prosperous population of today (Diagram 1). The medical ethnography which follows will attempt to delineate the important factors in their adaptation.

Introducing the Badagas

101 1.2. The Badagas are a community of Hindu peasants who numbered
161 104,919 people in the official census of 1971. They live almost en-
131 tirely on the Nilgiri Massif, which is in the westernmost corner of Tamil Nadu State, India, some 11°N from the Equator. The great
241 majority of them are potato, cabbage and tea cultivators, but until
[433] the early years of this century they were farming such subsistence crops as barley, wheat, and several millets. The fields surround their villages and farms. They rarely irrigate, but rely instead on the two
[233] regular monsoons. Some people also keep herds of buffalo and cattle for milk and other dairy products, but not for meat.

361 Their long rows of brick houses lie along the leeward slopes of the hills, and are thus protected from the worst of the rains. In every
368 village there are also temples or shrines to various Hindu gods. Badagas are nearly all Hindus of Saivite persuasion; two small but
771 significant minorities are the Lingayats and the Christians.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

of a sociologist, is that—unlike most communities on the subcontinent—the Badagas can be categorized neither as tribe nor as caste. To be precise, they are refugees drawn from several castes in southern Mysore centuries ago, who then consolidated themselves into a community on the Nilgiri Massif and to some extent may have then emulated the social organization of the neighbouring Toda tribe (Hockings 1979a).

The very name *Baḍaga* means "northerner" in their language, and was clearly applied to them only after they had fled from the plains immediately to the north of the Nilgiris. The reason for this flight is made quite clear in their legends: in A.D. 1565 the Vijayanagar Empire was destroyed by Muslims invading from the north. The ancestral Badagas, fearing for the safety of their womenfolk, fled to the Nilgiris and adopted a tribal type of dress for both sexes. In 1603 a certain Father Finicio, the first European visitor, encountered them on this plateau. He described them (in Portuguese) as as Badegas, and gave the impression that they then numbered 500 to 1,000 people and inhabited no more than three villages (Finicio 1603). Already they had quite a varied mixed-farming economy. The most remarkable accomplishment of the Badagas has been the consummate success with which the community has adapted to and multiplied in surroundings that were initially wild and strange for them, and which lay at an elevation 3,000 to 5,000 feet higher than did their ancestral villages on the Mysore Plain. Their agricultural success has been partly due to their adoption of foreign techniques. Typically European crops are commonly grown today on terraces made with the help of machines. The fields are nourished with artificial fertilizers and the harvest is transported in lorries. These improved techniques have led to a better standard of living and a tendency for fathers to provide their sons with the education that they missed themselves. In the four main towns of the Massif there is now a sizeable Badaga middle class, and many of the men are doctors, lawyers, teachers, or government officials. Although still largely a rural people, speaking a distinct but unwritten Dravidian language, Badagas now have an unusually high rate of literacy in both Tamil and English.

Previous Studies

1.3. It is possible to show in considerable detail how the Badaga

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

121 society and economy have developed over the centuries. This will not be done here, however, since I have presented the historical data on the community at great length elsewhere (Hockings 1979a; a brief synopsis may be found in Hockings 1972b). If we are to try and understand Badaga society in the way it is now perceived by Badagas and other Indians, then obscure historical references from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries cannot be considered relevant information for this study. Instead of turning to old documentary evidence — of which almost none refers to health — I will therefore rely on my own field observations for the most part. (101) These were made during a total of three years of residence among the Badagas (in 1962-1963, 1969-1970, 1972, and 1976-1977).

127 Although there have been several inaccurate accounts of the Badagas left us by early travellers and officials, and there is voluminous material on their evangelization by French, Swiss and German missionaries, general descriptions of the social organization are rare. I can only commend the well-observed paper by Natesa Sastri (1892) and extensive notes by Thurston (1909). Of some use also are the chapters on Badaga economy by Ranga (1934), and an essay on Badaga religion by Samikannu (1922). Several papers by myself may also be of interest. Unfortunately of these few studies none discusses therapy and only Thurston (1909) is readily to be found in most university libraries because his volumes were recently reprinted. By contrast the small Toda tribe has been the subject of well over a hundred books and articles out of a 2,800-item bibliography on the Nilgiris (Hockings, 1978). While the District has been very heavily studied from every conceivable viewpoint, the numerically preponderant community has been almost wholly ignored. General information about the Badagas and the Nilgiri Hills can be found in the scholarly but now out-dated district gazetteers (Grigg, 1880; Francis, 1908; Nambiar 1965). These are also the chief, though inadequate, sources for information about public health in the Nilgiris in the past.

Topography of the District

133 1.4. It is convenient to think of the Nilgiris as divided into four parts physiographically and ethnically : (1) The Malna:d, or upper plateau, in the elevation range 6,500-8,600 feet. This is pre-eminently the homeland and grazing area for the Todas and their buffaloes.

S: Hockings E-5 (1962-1963) 1989
AN50 Badaga AN50

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL AND ETHNIC SETTING

The Terrain

131 The Nilgiri Hills, once also known as the Blue Mountains, are a plateau some 600 square miles in area, situated in Southern India at the juncture of the three linguistic and cultural areas of Karnatak, Malabar and Tamilnād; or of 631 modern Mysore, Kerala and Madras States. Today the Nilgiris form one small 101 administrative District of Madras State. They are the homeland of the Badaga, Toda, Kota and Kurumba communities; nowadays many other peoples also live there.

133 The plateau is generally in the altitude range of 6000-8000 feet, and one peak (among the highest in peninsular India) reaches 8640 feet. In contrast with this the western quarter of the District averages around 3000 feet in altitude, and 128 forms a part of the Wynaad Plateau. In this study I use the term Nilgiris in its geographical sense rather than its political one, thereby excluding the Wynaad when I speak of the Nilgiris.

133 The slopes of the Nilgiri Plateau fall away very steeply, and on the eastern 137 edge actually drop some 6000 feet in a distance of less than two miles. The slopes 136 have always been covered by a dense subtropical jungle which harbors tigers, leopards, wild buffaloes, elephants, snakes, malarial mosquitoes, and (formerly 115 dangerous) hunting tribes still feared for their sorcery. Until the advent of the

000 In 1951 the total population of the District numbered 311,729; and by 1961 it had risen to 409,308 -- a massive increase of 32% in a decade, attributable to the high rate of local immigration as well as to the increase of births over deaths.

177 In summary, therefore, while the Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Irulas are all tiny communities when compared with the numbers of Badagas, the Badagas in turn are now greatly outnumbered by settlers who have recently arrived from all parts of the Southern Indian plains.

The Badagas

161 Until the recent influx of these laborers, the Badagas were the preponderant community in the Nilgiris. Today they number a little under 100,000, and occupy nearly 400 hamlets dotted across the District.

•101 The word Badaga (more correctly Baduga) means "Northerner" in their dialect of the Kannada language, and was presumably first used as a name for them when they became an immigrant community among the tribal groups already 174 established in the Nilgiri Hills. Their origin is clearly traceable to the plains of Southern Mysore, which lie just to the north of the Nilgiris. Badaga traditions indicate that they arrived as small parties of refugees over a period of several hundred years. Because some of the earliest of these settlers were of the Lingayat faith when they arrived it is only reasonable to suppose that they left Mysore 175 after the founding of the Lingayat sect ca. 1160 A.D. That there were a few Bad-167 aga villages in the hills by the year 1602 is known from the account of the Nilgiris sent to his superior by Father Fenicio (Fenicio 1603). But as many Badagas still speak about their ancestors having fled from the terrors of Tippu Sultan's reign in Mysore (1786-1799), there is also good ground for supposing that the last of the Badaga migrants did not reach the Nilgiris until the end of the 18th Century

175 (Grigg 1880: 228, 268-69). Whatever the details of their migration may be, it is
(167) known that no further Badagas arrived from Mysore after the first English report mentioning the Nilgiri peoples (Buchanan 1807: 246-47). They have been consolidated as a community for at least two centuries (Anonymous 1819: liv-lv; Macpherson 1820: lix; Ward 1821: lxx-lxxi). Furthermore the system of socio-
178 cultural interdependence which linked the Badagas with the other tribal groups there at the beginning of the 20th Century did not differ greatly from the situation as it was sketchily recorded in 1603 (Fenicio 1603: 723). In general therefore we
• 101 197 can say that the Badagas were Kanarese-speaking agriculturists who settled in the Nilgiris from perhaps six until two centuries ago, and who were there consolidated into a tribe-like community interacting with the other local tribes.

433 Records indicate that until about 1860 or 1870 the Badagas were slash-and-burn cultivators as well as settled farmers (cf. Grigg 1880: 315-17, 321; Francis 1908: 4; Thurston 1909: I, 78-79). Those who ate meat were also in the habit of hunting, until some 30 years ago. After 1860 the British administration
241 (657) wanted the peasants to remain on the same tracts of farmland; whereupon they gradually took to cultivating European vegetables, particularly the potato, which they sold for cash in the town markets (Metz 1864: 153-54). Since 1957 a series
241 439 of crop failures caused by a potato disease has prompted the Badagas to turn more and more to the cultivation of tea and coffee, products which are also sold locally for cash. In the past the food needs of these villagers have been satisfied by the cultivation of millets; but since about 1920 it has been more common for them to purchase rice as a staple, using money brought in by the potato, tea or coffee sales (Ranga 1934: 68).

262 000 Dairy produce is an essential part of the Badaga diet. Nearly every

231 592 Nearly every family owns a few buffaloes, and the more affluent also have good European breeds of cow. Until the Second World War it was normal for buffaloes and oxen to be 178 492 used in plowing; but in recent years the fragmentation of land holdings and the terracing of slopes have made the plow superfluous, as such small plots can only be worked by manual labor (Ranga 1934: 12-13; Vivekanandam Pillai 1937: 349).

178 463 The shortage of farmland during the present century has caused some Badagas to look to other occupations. Today there are several hundred college graduates employed in law, medicine, education and government. Such people usually work in the towns, and preferably in the Nilgiris; but wherever possible they continue to live in their natal villages.

184 The Badagas embrace four quite distinguishable sub-cultures. These can be identified as:

1) The (non-Lingayat) Saivites, who form about 90 percent of the entire community;

2) The Lingayats, a small but influential minority;

3) The Christian converts, who are considered Badagas in a court of law but regard themselves as separate from, and are treated as a distinct and inferior caste by, the other Badagas;

4) The Wynaad Gaudas, a peripheral minority of Badagas who have lived for two or three centuries in eight widely separated villages of the Wynaad Plateau, and are now culturally closer to the Wynaad Chettis than to the Hill Badagas. We shall not be concerned with them in this study.

(101)

615 Apart from these distinctions, the Hill Badagas (nos. 1 and 2 in the above list) divided into a number of jati-like social groups -- we are calling them

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Toda AW60

ABSTRACT

The Nilgiri District, east of Calicut, India, is dominated by a higher than 6,000-foot massif commonly called the Nilgiris. The northwestern section of the District extends onto the lower Mysore Plateau and the northern section lies in the Mysore Ditch, a broad valley. This study is a survey of how five ethnic groups, the Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, have interacted with neighbors and utilized landscapes within the Nilgiri District. The historical perspective is employed throughout.

The study is based upon an occupance concept in which men are treated as 1) makers of cultural products termed occupance forms, 2) landscape utilizers who alter landscapes to varying degrees, 3) generators of inter-human economic activities, and 4) employees in economies generated by outsiders to their own small cultures. The outstanding characteristics of resultant dynamic cultural complexes, termed occupance patterns, are described. Because dwellings and temples proved to be particularly useful cultural indicators, they were classified according to exterior characteristics and the functional arrangements of their interiors. It also became necessary to employ an agricultural classification system with the three divisions of dry fields, wet fields, and gardens.

Todas living mainly on the northwestern upper Nilgiris are differentiated from the other ethnic groups by their barrel-vaulted,

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

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AW50 Badaga AW50
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

121 Little was known of the people inhabiting the Nilgiri District, southern India, until Francis Buchanan visited the District in 1800. Since that time, five ethnic groups have been mentioned repeatedly in the writings of other visitors to the District. Using the interrelated criteria of occupance patterns, occupance forms, and economies, this study surveys and analyzes the cultural contrasts and similarities exhibited by the five groups. Because significant changes have occurred since 1800, the historical perspective is applied to the three criteria whenever possible. A study in depth, by its very nature, contributes to an understanding of factors causing cultural contrasts and similarities among the five ethnic groups in the early 1800s, and of factors leading to changes since then.

1. The Study Region and Five Ethnic Groups

131 [101] 63 The study region. The Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas, who form the main subjects of this study, live within the Nilgiri District of Madras State. The District lies approximately west-southwest from Madras city, the capital of Madras State, and is less than 50 miles east of Calicut, the southern Indian port reached by Vasco da Gama in 1498 (Figure 1). The Nilgiri massif, with several peaks higher than 8,000 feet, dominates much of the District. However, a part of the District extends over the Wynaad Plateau to

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 3]

dropping 3,080 feet in altitude to a powerhouse in the Mysore Ditch, together with a dammed reservoir and powerhouse in the Moyar River valley, are the main features of the last-mentioned scheme (Nambiar 1965: 26-27).

The five ethnic groups. In 1871, when the first controlled census was taken, the Badagas, Irulas, Kotas, Kurumbas, and Todas formed about two-fifths of the population in the Nilgiri District (Hunter 1886, 10: 308). By 1961, however, the immigration of other people had lowered this fraction to about one-sixth (Nambiar 1965: 8, 10, 254). In the 1871-1961 period the following population changes took place among the five ethnic groups (Grigg et al. 1880: 30; Nambiar 1965: 8, 254):

Badagas: from over 15,000 to over 60,000 (estimated)[1]
Irulas: from 1,470 to 4,502
Kotas: from 1,112 to 832
Kurumbas: from 613 to 1,174
Todas: from 693 to 706

The decrease in the number of Kotas is partially attributable to a smallpox epidemic.

The racially Caucasoid Badagas speak Badagu, worship Lord Shiva, and form an agricultural Hindu caste; most of them dwell above 6,000 feet on the Nilgiri massif, but there are some who inhabit the Wynaad Plateau (Figure 2).[2] Caucasic-Australoid Irulas of the Nilgiri District speak a Tamil dialect, are devotees of Ranga, and form a partly Hinduized agricultural caste; they inhabit eastern Nilgiri slopes. The Irulas of Coimbatore District and Kerala State, who apparently are descended from the same ancestral stock as the Nilgiri District Irulas, are not covered in this study.

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8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AM50 Badaga AM50

PAUL HOCKINGS

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Badaga Kinship Rules in Their Socio-Economic Context

Abstract. – *The Badagas, a large refugee millet-farming community on the Nilgiri Hills of Southern India, have a Dravidian kinship system. Their larger social units include several levels of lineage, clans, and phratries. While much discussion of Dravidian kinship focusses on rules, this paper concentrates on actual practices, looking especially at situations for which there are no established rules. Many of the rules that do exist are shown to be preferences rather than prescriptions, particularly those relating to the choice of a marriage partner: although the system is rigidly patrilineal, residence after marriage is not always patrilocal. The joint family is still widespread. Among the unusual features of Badaga society, generation levels are only identifiable among males. This, combined with the frequency of remarriage and the existence of polygyny, means that affines may be able to trace the kin relationship between them through several different "routes." Only the sons inherit property, but while they all get an equal share of the land, it is only the youngest who inherits the parental home. Uncle/niece marriage and other more anomalous possibilities are examined. The paper illustrates the workings of a preferential pattern of bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and explores the nature of marriage reciprocity between villages.* [India, Kinship, Marriage, Inheritance]

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The Badagas are a refugee millet-farming community who live on the Nilgiri Massif of Southern India. They are not however the victims of any recent political repression, for their ancestors moved up into that mountain environment during the 16th and 17th centuries, following the Muslim invasions of Mysore which brought the Vijayanagar Empire to an end. Those

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8: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1982 AN50 Badaga AN50

who fled from that situation and settled on the hills as Badagas (i.e., "northerners") came mainly from the agricultural Okkaliga caste in the Mysore Plain. What their social organization may have been there is obscure and irrelevant. It seems that the small groups of refugees, torn from their caste affiliations, were so fragmented that the basic social unit among them as settlers was the joint family, not the *jati* or caste. It is still the ideal residential unit.

Today we find no castes in Badaga society. These people live in a tribal milieu, surrounded by the indigenous Toda, Kota, Kurumba, and Iruļa tribes, and they have become fairly tribe-like themselves. The community is divided into ten phratries which are mainly endogamous. Two of these are vegetarian; all are primarily agricultural. Each phratry is made up of a number of exogamous clans, anything from two to sixteen of them, and these clans are in turn segmented into quite a few exogamous lineages. As with the famed Nigerian case of the Tallensi, there are actually lineages within lineages, so that we may need to speak about maximal (*kuḍumbu*), major (*kutti*), minor (*kutti*), and minimal (*guppu*) lineages, even though not every clan currently has all four levels of lineage. Segments of the minimal lineages are in fact extended families, counting back for about five generations, and with most of their members still alive.

These larger social units have a complicated history and organization (detailed in Hockings 1980), and they will not be considered further in this present study. It is nonetheless relevant to mention how they fit into the residence pattern. The Badagas live in about 370 exclusively Badaga villages which are normally exogamous. Marriage is virilocal. Each village is thus the home of one or more patrilineages all belonging to one clan (and hence, one phratry). But with few exceptions a clan is not confined to a single village.

One particular village, Tu:ne:ri, was the first place to be settled, in the late 16th century, as a result of which its headman became the paramount chief. This position, like all Badaga headmanships, has descended patrilineally within the family. Every other village has its own headman, descended from the founder, and clusters of neighbouring villages form a commune around one particular village whose headman is also acknowledged to be the commune headman. Furthermore, the whole of the plateau area has been divided into four quarters, and one man is recognized as the regional headman in each quarter. At every one of the four levels of headmanship there is also a council, made up of inferior headmen (except in the case of the village council, which consists of lineage elders who work with the traditional village headman).

The society is relatively homogeneous in the sense that, although the ten phratries are ranked into a widely accepted hierarchy, all families were traditionally subsistence farmers of millet and all lived by essentially the same kinship rules. We will therefore be able to explore the meaning of these rules without constant reference to exceptions and alternatives found only in certain sectors of the society.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

THE BADAGAS OF THE NILAGIRI DISTRICT:—1.

Of all the original inhabitants of the Nilagiri District, the Badagas are the most remarkable in every way. Their settlement in these hills is not as ancient as that of the Tôdas, Irulas, and Kurumbas, for they are only comparatively recent settlers from the Maisûr country. About the history of their settlement Mr. Grigg, in his *District Manual*, (p. 218), speaks as follows:—

"The Badagas or *Northmen* are the descendants of Kanarese colonists "from the Carnatic country known now as North Coimbatore and South "Mysore which at one time formed an important part of the ancient Konga "kingdom. It is commonly reported that the principal migrations took "place about three hundred years ago on the breaking up of the Vijaya-"nagar Empire. * * * * These Kanarese colonists probably migrated to "the Hills when driven from home by famine, political turmoil, or local "oppression."

Thus in Mr. Grigg's opinion these three causes,—famine, political turmoil and local oppression,—each by itself or all combined must have driven those people to find a more convenient home in the Hills three centuries ago, and the same writer gives several proofs of the fact that they must have migrated to the Nilagiris about the time when there existed a Kanarese supremacy over these parts of India.

The Badagas have all crafts and professions within their own community. They have their own barbers, carpenters, washermen, blacksmiths, scavengers, brick-makers; in short, they are a self-contained community having among themselves representatives of every art or profession that adds to the comfort of life. It is noteworthy that these artizans serve only their own caste people—the Badagas—and never others, for this is, in my opinion, one of the best indications to prove that, as a race of colonists in an unknown land, they must have brought with them all crafts and arts to make their stay in the new country to which they went as comfortable as possible.

They must have come as agriculturists in the expectation that they would find in these high regions land lying waste in plenty which they could easily occupy and cultivate, and thus lead a life of plenty and happiness. In these high expectations they must have been thoroughly disappointed. At the very first point of settlement, they must have met with opposition from the Tôdas who were already masters of the soil. But instead of retiring and returning

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

victory of all right are dreams of romance which can visit no eyes open to the light of day. . . . In order to keep an equilibrium between the social and the personal happiness, and prevent either from disturbing the other, a man must desire nothing that does not accord with the public wish. He must be a thorough conformist to the opinions or methods of his party or his age; if he deviates from this he is equally punished whether he sinks to a lower level or rises to a higher. The cry of the multitude, nay of the Chief Priests and Pharisees, "Away with Him!" "Crucify Him!" is as ready for the Saviours as for the Malefactors of the world; and if the end of life is to make the most of its pleasures and minimise its pains, there is no room for the devotee of compassion, whose heart is irresistibly drawn to the haunts of sin and misery, and takes on it the burthen of countless woes besides its own, and bleeds for every wound it cannot heal".

HIRALAL HALDAR.

THE BADAGAS OF THE NILAGIRI DISTRICT:—II.

A STUDENT of history can not fail to be struck by the resemblance there is between many of the institutions of the Baḍagas and those of some of the old Âryans. The Baḍagas are indeed not Âryans. They are, as we said in a previous article, colonists from Maisûr. The name Baḍaga is a Kanarese corruption of a Telugu word *Vaḍuga**—the name of a class of Telugu-speaking Śûdras. These Vaḍugas were an agricultural class, of strong and muscular physique, and they were always very ready to enlist in the armies of the rajahs of Southern India, who were glad to have such soldiers among their troops. The Vijayanagar sovereigns especially took a great fancy to this sturdy and warlike race and were always ready to enlist Vaḍugas, and to raise even to the highest position in their armies such as distinguished themselves. Some Vaḍugas rose to the rank of general, and sometimes they were sent down as governors of different provinces that recognised the Kings of Vijayanagar as suzerain. It was thus that Viśvanâtha Nâyakka was sent to Madura in 1559 A.D., where he soon constituted himself an independent chieftain and founded the Nâyakka

* Compare with this the word Vaḍuvu, which means Telugu.

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

dynasty of Madura. To these Nâyakkas or Vaḍugas the Baḍagas were allied, and they were thus originally the Śûdras of the Maisûr country. They were, however, completely Âryanised before they commenced their march three centuries ago to the district where they now live, and it is therefore not surprising that they should have brought with them many of the ancient Âryan institutions.

Chief among these may be noted the system of local self-government that even yet exists among them though in an impaired form. From the traces that are still left it is evident that the village community system prevailed among them in a complete state in the old days of their settlement on the Nîlagiris.

Each village has a head man called the Monegar. He is generally the richest man in the village, and is regarded as the highest authority upon all subjects. Before the year 1830, while the Nîlagiri district had not yet been made a separate district but only formed a single tâlûk in the Coimbatore district, the power of these Monegars was much greater than it is now. At that time communication was difficult and much of the Nîlagiris had not yet been opened up, and in the different villages the Monegar was the paramount power. Stories are current even to the present day of a Monegar of one village who ordered an individual who had disobeyed his orders to be covered with a slab of stone. Unless the disobedience was of a most flagrant nature and really amounted to a determined disregard of constituted authority, such a high-handed exercise of autocratic power must have been resented by the people, for the Monegar was not an irresponsible autocrat, but a ruler holding his power by the goodwill of the whole community. The British Government has made these Monegars officials in connection with the revenue administration of the villages, but apart from this they still have certain important duties to perform in connection with the social life of the Baḍaga community. In all religious and social questions the Baḍagas go to the village Monegar. If the question is a simple one he settles it himself, if it is intricate he calls a village council to which the elders of the village are summoned. After taking their opinion he passes an order which must be obeyed, for his word is law.

Questions of partition, of cultivation and of outcasting, disputes and other minor matters, are thus settled by the village council with the Monegar as its head. It is, however, in questions arising in connexion with marriage that the Monegar and his council play their most important part. When a girl in one village is going to